

Japan in East Asian Security

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on the
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“Japan Inc.” Has Morphed

Change at Last or Change at Least?

- The Political Landscape
- The Economic Landscape

Political Landscape

- Splintered Party System
- The Left has Left
- Bureaucracy no longer *primus inter pares*
- First Popular PM in a Generation

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Economic Landscape

Change at Last?

- **“Hollowing out”**
- **Social Contract Repealed**
- **Price Sensitivity**
- **Deflation**

Change at Least?

- **Stalled Deregulation**
- **Looming Fiscal Crisis**
- **Looming Debt Crisis**
- **Minimal Inward DFI**

Security Policy

“Steady As She Goes”

- Yamagata's Ghost
- Comprehensive Security
- A “Reliable and Warm-Hearted SDF” JDA White Paper (2002)
- Non-Nuclear Principles
- Limited Defense Budgets
- No Defense Ministry

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What Military Build-up?

World's #2 Defense Budget by 1990s (\$45b)

But:

Defense Budgets Small and Shrinking, both absolutely:

- 2003 cut 0.4% 2004 cut 1%. And relatively:
 - 1989 = 1.01% GDP
 - 2001 = 0.95% GDP

- SDF Buying Less Equipment:

- 1989 = 63 Major Surface Warships 2003 = 52 Major Surface Warships

- Fleet Getting Older:

- Average Age of Major Warships: 12 years in 1989, but 15 years a decade later.

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Japan's Hedge

- Forever balancing its Military Shield and Mercantile Sword

“America can be Japan’s ally in security affairs, but I do not think it can be an ally in economic affairs.” (Okamoto)

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Becoming “Normal” ?

- SLOC Patrols (1981)
- Regional Cooperation for Maritime Interdiction (1999)
- Koizumi’s Declaration on Article IX (2003)
- Ishiba’s Three Declarations (2002-3)
 - Defensive Defense
 - Arms Exports
 - Preemption
- Reaching out to Touch
 - Aerial Refueling
 - Assault Ships
 - Marines (?)
- Collective Security
 - Destroyers to Diego Garcia (2002)
 - Boots on Iraqi Ground (2004)
 - Participation in post 30 June UN force ?

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Three Catalysts

First Gulf War → “Checkbook Diplomacy”

- Minesweeping
- PKOs

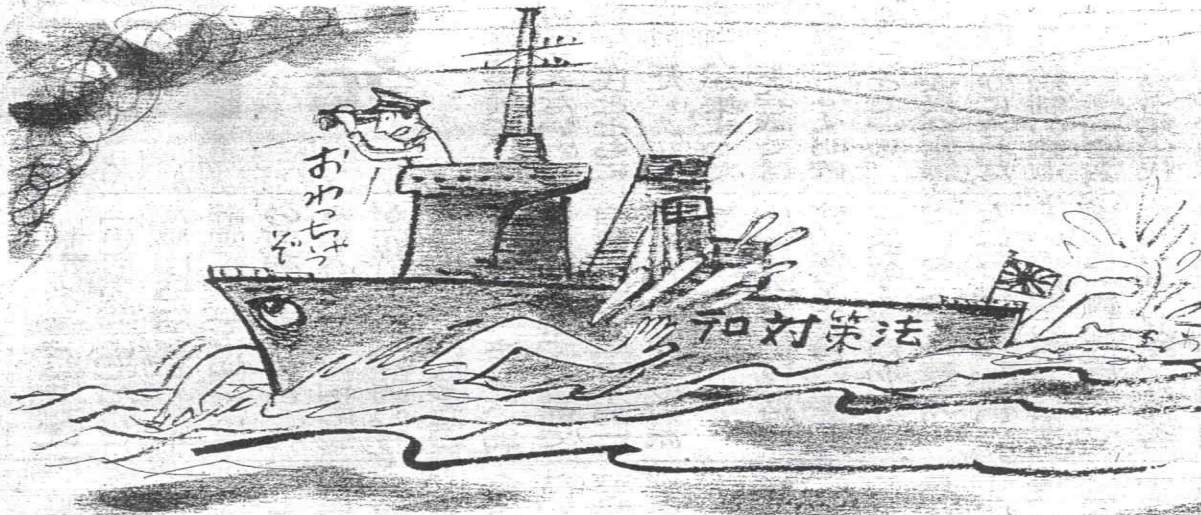
Second Gulf War → “Showing the Flag”

- Two Major “Out of Area” Deployments
- “Rushing to Help”

Consolidation of Anti-Mainstream Conservative Power

- Kishi → Koizumi → Fukuda → Abe → Koizumi → Fukuda → Abe

Rushing to Help



急いだけれど間にあいそうもなく……
小島 功

Warm and Fuzzy



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Gone Hollywood?

“Seamanship for Love... Seamanship for Peace”



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Japanese Boots on Iraqi Ground



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DPRK: The Mother of all Catalysts

- 1998 Taepodong Test → Spy Satellite
- 2001 Mystery Ship / Naval Battle → SDF Law Revision
- 2002 Nuke Crisis Redux → Reaffirm Alliance but:
- Abductees > Nukes in 2002 & 2004
Koizumi Visits

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Alliance Issues Remain

- Host Nation Support
 - *omoiyari yosan* (“condolence fund”)
 - SOFA
- Okinawa Quiet but Unresolved
 - Special Action Committee for Okinawa (1995)
 - .6% Japanese Territory
 - 50% U.S. Forces Japan
 - 75% U.S. military Facilities Japan
- Elite and Popular Support Very Soft
- Divergent Interests in Iran and elsewhere

Plausible Near-term Postures

- Status Quo (*Sho Nihonshugi Ron*)
 - Cork in Bottle
 - Defensive Defense
 - Junior Partnership with U.S.
- Alliance Plus (*Futsu no Kuni*)
 - Full partnership with U.S.
 - Rearmed
 - Active in UN PKOs
 - British-style “Normality”

Possible Long-term Postures

Muscular Realist (*Nippon jishu boei ron*)

- Full Hedge
- Can say “No”
- French-style “Normality”: Full Rearmament

- **Armed Neutrality**

- Full Rearmament
- Full Hedge
- Does Say “No”

- **Pro-China Tilt**

- **Finlandization**

- Trade junior partnerships

Q&A

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The Neighborhood: China

- Japan Tiring of Aid and War Crime Accusations
- China Tiring of Yasukuni Visits
- PRC “Research Ships”
- Territorial Dispute
- Taiwan Ambiguity
- **BUT**, Incentives for Accommodation →

Incentives for Accommodation

- Economic Complementarity
 - China 15% Japanese 2003 Trade
 - China 80% Japan's 2003 export growth
- Non-Moralistic Foreign Policy
- Common Interests on DPRK
- Demographics
- Japan Cannot Imagine Dominating China

Regional Issues: Russia

- No WWII Peace Treaty
- Kurile Island Dispute
- BUT HERE, AGAIN: “It’s the Oil, Stupid!”
Secret Negotiations
Balancing China

Japanese Islands Disputes

Names	Description	History	Issues
Japan: Northern Territories Russia: Kuriles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •NE of Hokkaido •30,000 Residents •Three large Islands: Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotani plus Habomai Islets 	1945: Annexed by USSR. 17,000 Japanese deported 1956: Provisional USSR-Japan Agreement 2001: Still no WWII Peace Treaty	Jurisdiction Divided Families Energy?
Japan: Senkakus China/Taiwan: Diaoyutai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •110 miles NE of Taiwan, 220 miles WSW of Okinawa •Five uninhabited islets and 3 reefs (<1800 acres) 	1895: ceded to Japan after Sino-Japanese War 1943: Implicit part of Japan in Cairo Declaration? 1945-1971: Administered by USG as part of Okinawa. Status unspecified in reversion agreement	Nationalism Piracy Energy?
Japan: Takeshima Korea: Tokto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •35 miles from Korea and Japan in Sea of Japan (East Sea) •2 uninhabited islets 	Status Unspecified after WWII	Fishing Rights Postage Stamps

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Further Afield: Iran

- “It’s the Oil, Stupid!”
- Like Europeans, Japan Ignores U.S. Sanctions
- UK and Germany as IAEA cover
- \$6-\$12 billion in deals on the table

U.S. Forces in Japan

~45,000 troops

- Air Assets

- F-16, EP-3 electronic warfare, airlift, P-3C patrol (Yokota, Misawa AB)
- F-15, KC-135 refueling, E-3 AWACS, C-130 transport, P-3C (Kadena AB)

- Naval

- USS Kitty Hawk carrier battle group (Yokosuka)
- Amphibious Ready Group (ARG) Belleau Wood (Sasebo)

- Ground

- US Army (Camp Zama)
- USMC, III MEF (Okinawa)

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U.S. Forces in Okinawa

- The Forces: ~25,000 troops
 - U.S. Marines
 - III Marine Expeditionary Force (HQ)
 - 31st Marine Expeditionary Unit
 - 36th MAG (Marine Air Group) --helicopters
 - 1st MAW (Marine Aircraft Wing)
 - USAF (Kadena AB)
 - 18th Wing
 - F-15s, E-3 AWACs, KC-135 refueling aircraft, C-130 transport aircraft
 - U.S. Navy
 - P-3C antisubmarine aircraft

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Disputes Over Okinawa

- Crime (1995 rape)
- Accidents and aircraft crashes
- Artillery live-fire exercises
- Highway closings during training
- Noise pollution
- Environmental degradation

Alternatives to Okinawa

- Withdrawal of Marines (III MEF)
 - Darwin, Australia
 - Guam
 - CONUS or Hawaii
- Pre-positioned forces
 - Maritime pre-positioning vessels
 - Land-based units